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ABSTRACT

This document suggests ways in which Canadian organizations in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors can approach the development of policies that are supportive of families. The document is organized into 4 chapters. The first chapter describes changes that have occurred in Canadian Families in the last 50 years. Twelve charts depict data concerning these changes. The second chapter examines the diversity among and within families and notes the consequences of this diversity for public policy. It also reviews recent trends in demographic, social, and economic change that affect families and public policy. The third chapter outlines the concept of families as open systems that permeate society as a whole. It distinguishes between remedial and systemic approaches to family policy. The final chapter suggests a framework of principles for evaluating the degree to which policies respond to the needs of families. It also examines the broad array of public policies that affect families. (GLR)

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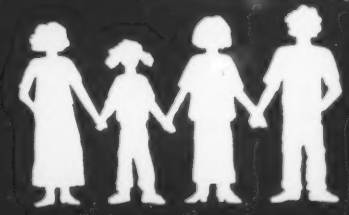

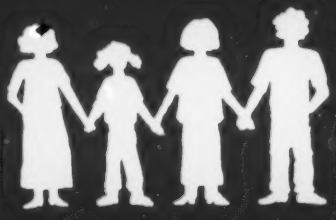

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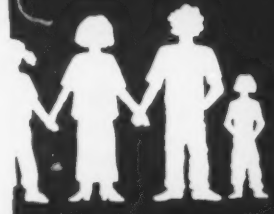

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Canadian Families in Transition

THE IMPLICATIONS AND CHALLENGES OF CHANGE

The Vanier Institute of the Family
120 Holland Avenue, Suite 300
Ottawa, Ontario, K1Y 0X6

Disponible aussi en Français

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Introduction

WHO CARES ABOUT FAMILIES? WHY SHOULD ANYONE?

We all have been and most of us are still members of families that provide some degree of mutual caring and sharing, that transmit knowledge, values and material benefits from generation to generation. As infants and small children we learn from our families the patterns of behaviour that affect all our later relationships both with other individuals and with society as a whole. Families continue to be society's most basic and pervasive organization, bridging the gap between the individual and the larger context of group activities such as jobs, communities, recreational activities and all the many social and economic organizations within which we interact.

All people are shaped by the familial relationships in which they grow from childhood, and which they forge for themselves throughout their lives. People may select a vocation, career or job, join a political party, even emigrate to a new society, but our parents, siblings and ancestors are a given, and they remain a potent shaping force throughout our lives. Even in an individualistic society we cannot shrug off the influence of our families: by their very existence they tell us of our origins. When we think of what they have given us, we are forced to consider what we wish to keep, change, discard or improve both within our own lifetimes and for the benefit of our descendents.

To whom this document is addressed:

This document is addressed to people whose work makes them concerned about families and who want to do something to improve the status of families in Canada.

Perhaps you are a public servant responsible for framing government initiatives that cope with conflicting public demands for solutions to family-related problems. Or you might be a volunteer in one of Canada's many benevolent organizations that seek to improve some aspect of family life. Or you could be a social worker, teacher, police officer, public health nurse or one of the many people whose job puts them in contact with families in difficulties. Or you might be an employer who is aware that an increasing number of your workers are single mothers balancing the responsibilities of work and children, or people with young families or dependent elderly relatives.

Across Canada governments, communities, and organizations of all kinds are contemplating important policy challenges and initiatives that affect families, including:

- the need for child care;
- how to respond to the problems of family violence against women, children and the elderly;
- the implications of new reproductive technologies;
- the dilemmas posed by the low birth rate (of special importance in Québec which has recently had one of the world's lowest birth rates);
- the need to protect the financial interests of women and children after divorce.

Because there are so many different people, organizations and government departments that deal with and affect families, it is difficult to coordinate efforts to support families. **Canadian Families in Transition: The Implications and Challenges of Change** offers principles by which policies and programs can be identified, coordinated and

assessed. This is particularly necessary when making difficult decisions among competing initiatives.

Our institutions are not usually oriented toward building family-supportive policies. In the case of government, specialized departments and agencies must pursue their discrete mandates and objectives while heedful of individual human rights and values such as equity, freedom, equality of opportunity and efficiency when implementing political decisions. As a result, the public service tends to deal with people as individuals rather than as family members. Employers and community groups often follow the same pattern.

Such individual concerns may overlook other important human values. A beneficial and practical family policy fosters what might be called values of relatedness which complement individual rights and needs. People express these values by taking responsibility for their children, parents, siblings and other relatives. This relatedness gives us much of our identity and sense of continuity, linking us backwards in time to our parents and forward in time to our children, as well as to our contemporary relatives with whom we share the present. The Vanier Institute of the Family attempts to foster an awareness of these familial values and to argue for policies and programs that advance the interests of individuals as members of families.

What this document is about

Canadian Families in Transition: The Implications and Challenges of Change suggests some of the ways in which Canadian organizations in the public, private and non-profit sectors can approach the development of policies which are more supportive of families. A growing preoccupation with family interests is occurring in Canada and

other nations, and there are both models that guide and problems that warn. Accordingly, this document promotes a broad perspective which can lead to the development of family-supportive policies.

Canadian Families in Transition: The Implications and Challenges of Change also offers ways of thinking about families. It advances the view of families as **open systems** in that families are open to the influence of all kinds of external factors, and, in turn, families influence their environment. This document shows how this approach is fundamental both to planning effective and lasting policies, and also to implementing policies and programs.

The approach taken in this document is governed by a number of principles. The Vanier Institute of the Family seeks to strengthen **all** Canadian families, as well as to relieve the distress of troubled individuals and families. Therefore, in the development of policies which are supportive of today's families, it is necessary to:

- Acknowledge and respect the diversity of family structures and patterns of family functioning. As well, it is necessary to respect the personal freedom to choose implied by the diversity of contemporary family life.

- Acknowledge that both the interests of individuals and the larger society are served best by strong family functioning. Accordingly, there are both personal and societal responsibilities to enhance family functioning and family stability by strengthening the emotional, material, and spiritual relationships of interdependence between parents and children, spouses and other kin.

- Recognize that the interests of the individuals whom public policies are intended to benefit are, in the vast

majority of cases, defined, at least in part, by their family relationships, obligations and responsibilities. As such, the best interests of individuals are, in most cases, best served by enhancing the functioning of their families.

- Promote strong and enduring relationships between family members that are based on respect for the rights and interests of individuals. At the same time, in instances such as those of domestic violence, child abuse/neglect and irreconcilable differences, the interests of individuals may not be compatible with the maintenance of marital and/or family ties.

- Acknowledge the equality of spousal roles, responsibilities and opportunities.

- Respect family life as a continuing process binding members one to another within and across generations.

- Recognize the distinction between the legal institution of marriage and the form of social organization known as family. As such, while the marital ties between spouses may be dissolved, the family responsibilities, obligations and bonds that a marriage entailed may endure (and, perhaps most especially, when the dissolution of the marriage involves children).

- Value equally and promote a balance among the familial roles and responsibilities of family members (procreation, socialization, education, affective support, intergenerational care and so on) and their economically-productive roles, both paid and unpaid.

- Appreciate that it is, in most cases, preferable to support families in the performance of their emotional, educative, material, reproductive and productive roles than to replace the family with substitute agents of care and responsibility.

- Recognize the partnership between families, communities, professionals and governments out of which the strength of each grows.

Families are so fundamentally important that it is not adequate merely to assist those families with serious problems. It is also necessary to recognize and encourage the many positive contributions families make to society. While it is necessary to respond to current problems, such as family violence or child poverty, it is important that we also look to the future. Pragmatically, we ensure our prosperity and security by such measures as educating young people so that they can cope with both the sorrows and the joys of their own families; promoting equality between men and women in the home, the work place, the community and the larger society; or relieving the financial pressures that over-stress low-income families. Virtually all Canadians recognize and accept a social responsibility to families and individuals in serious difficulties. The Vanier Institute of the Family advocates both preventive and ameliorative measures to improve families' chances of improving Canadian society. The Institute argues that when we prevent families from falling into difficulties, we are reducing more expensive remedial measures. It also maintains that when **all** families find it easier to fulfil their many functions, society as a whole benefits.

How this document is organized

The first chapter is entitled **The Trends**. It presents a description of **changes to Canadian families**.

The second chapter is entitled **The Challenges**. It examines the **diversity** among and within families and notes the consequences for public policy. It also reviews recent trends in demographic, social and economic **change** affecting and affected by families and points to the resultant challenges to public policy.

The third chapter is entitled **A Way of Thinking About Families**. It outlines the conceptual basis for a coherent approach to caring for families, focusing on the interaction between families as **open systems** and society as a whole. It also distinguishes between **remedial** and **systemic** approaches to family policy.

The fourth chapter is entitled **Principles and Pathways**. It suggests a **framework of principles** for evaluating how well policies respond to the needs of families. And it looks closely at the broad array of public policies which affect families.

The Vanier Institute of the Family is a national voluntary organization dedicated to promoting the well-being of Canada's families. Its mandate is broad and its activities include research, publications and public education about all aspects of families in Canada. The Institute regularly works with legislators, governmental policy-makers and program specialists, researchers, educators, family service professionals and members of the general public.

Chapter 1

The Trends

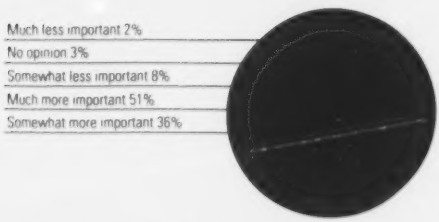
Canadians are increasingly aware of changes in families.

Both from their own experience, and from observing the lives of others, Canadians are aware that families are changing. Many changes to Canadian families have been documented for long enough to establish trends in both fact and attitude. Some of the more significant observations are:

- Canadians recognize much greater diversity among families than was the case fifty years ago. Some family classifications include: nuclear families, extended families, single parent families, blended or recombined families, childless families, cohabiting couples and single- and dual-income families. [1]

- Nine out of ten Canadians say that their family lives are becoming more important to them. [2]

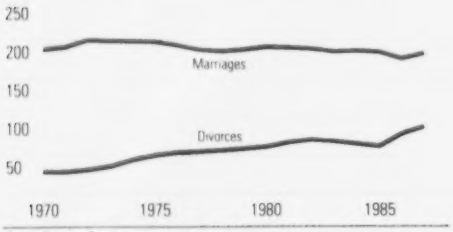
1. Is family becoming more important?



Source: Allan Gregg and Michael Posner, *The Big Picture*

- The vast majority (more than eight out of ten) of Canadians marry at least once, and the majority of Canadian marriages do last a lifetime. However, projections suggest that as many as four out of ten marriages entered into today will end in divorce. [3]

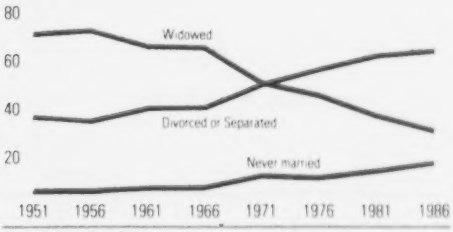
2. Marriages and divorces



Source: Statistics Canada

- Divorce causes more Canadians to become lone parents than the death of a spouse — a reversal of the situation fifty years ago. [4]

3. Cause of lone parenthood

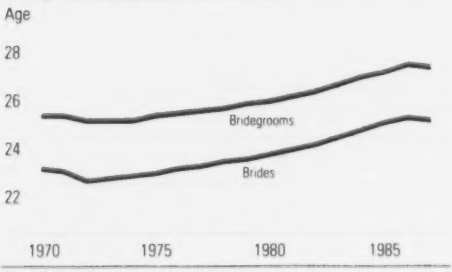


Source: *Canadian Social Trends*

- Legal marriage is still the preferred lifestyle of most Canadians, but the number of cohabiting couples has increased. [5]

- People get married later in life than they did fifty years ago. On average, men marry at approximately age 25, women at 24. [6]

4. Age at first marriage

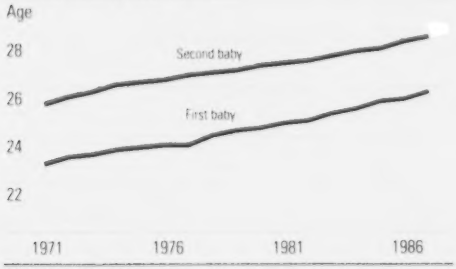


Source: Statistics Canada

- Families are smaller, tending to one or two children rather than the four or more of 50 years ago. [7]

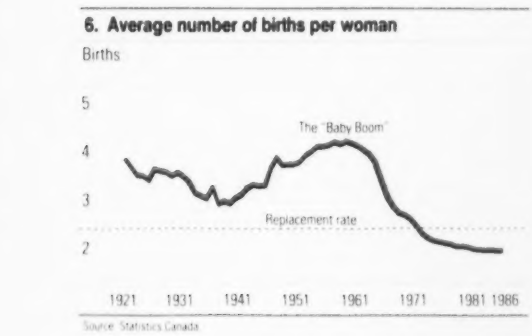
- Women are having their first children later in life, as late as their thirties (on average, age 25). [8]

5. Age when giving birth

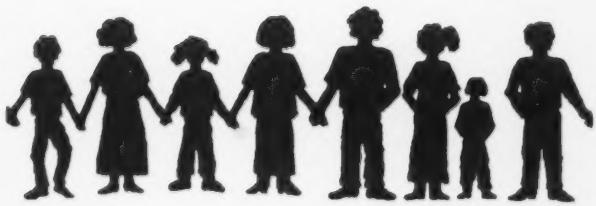


Source: Statistics Canada

- Canadians are now reproducing below the replacement rate of 2.1 children per woman. [9]

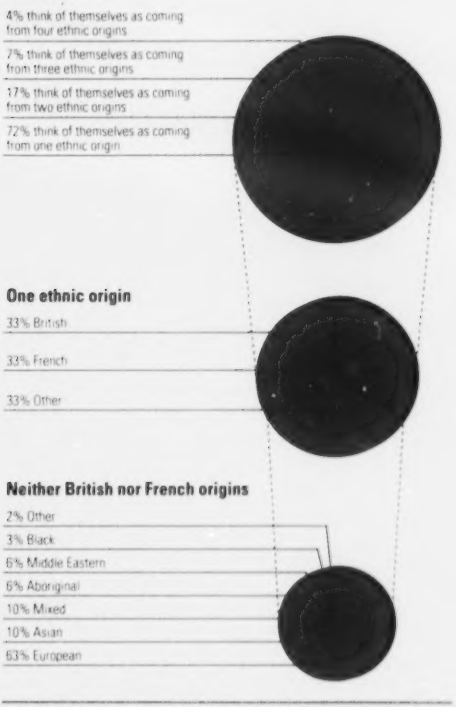


- In the 1950s nine out of every ten immigrants came from Europe. Today every second immigrant is from Asia, the Caribbean, Africa or Central America. [10]



- More than one Canadian in five perceives her or his cultural heritage to be **other than** British or French. [11]

7. Ethnic origins

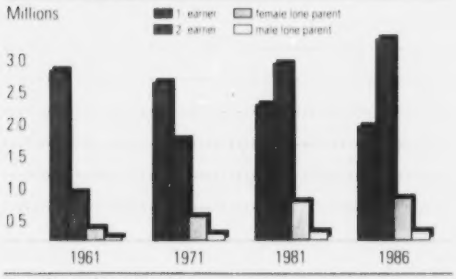

All Canadians
4% think of themselves as coming from four ethnic origins
7% think of themselves as coming from three ethnic origins
17% think of themselves as coming from two ethnic origins
72% think of themselves as coming from one ethnic origin
One ethnic origin
33% British
33% French
33% Other
Neither British nor French origins
2% Other
3% Black
6% Middle Eastern
6% Aboriginal
10% Mixed
10% Asian
63% European

Source: Statistics Canada

- More than one in three Canadians aged 15 and over has at least one foreign-born parent, and nearly one Canadian in five was born outside Canada. [12]

- Thirty years ago most Canadian families relied on one wage-earner, but by 1986 the proportion was reversed, and two-income families are now in the majority. [13]

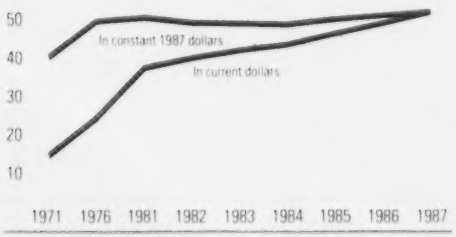
8. 1 and 2 Wage Earner Families



Source: *Census of Canada, 1961, 1986*

- Even though most Canadians have larger pay cheques each year, average family income calculated in constant dollars has increased very little in the last 15 years. [14]

9. Average family income

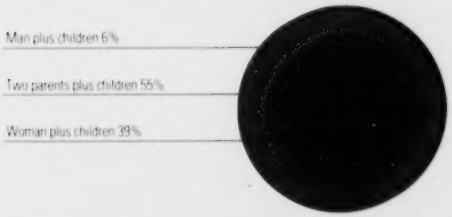


Source: Statistics Canada

- The total female labour force participation rate has grown from approximately one in three in 1967 to almost two in three in 1986. [15]

- Children living with a lone-parent mother are five times more likely to live in poverty than those living with two parents. [16]

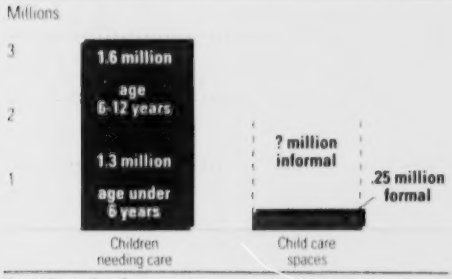
10. Poor families with children



Source: National Council of Welfare

- Close to 3 million Canadian children under 12 have parents who require some form of supplemental child care. [17]

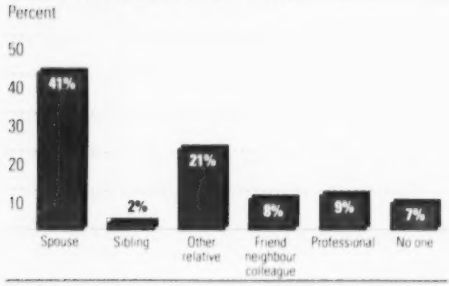
11. Child care need



Source: Canadian Social Trends

- As is the case with most Western industrialized nations, there are more Canadians aged 65 and over than ever before, and this segment of the population is growing. Among the consequences for families is a growing number of adults who provide some help to their aging parents. [18]

12. "Who you gonna call?"
Choices of married people over 65



Source: Statistics Canada

- Almost one in three Canadians lives in Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver, and six out of every ten Canadians live in 25 major Canadian cities. This trend to urbanization is occurring globally and shows no signs of slackening. [19]

- Canadians are among the most mobile people in the world, but they are moving somewhat less than in the 50s and 60s when almost every second Canadian (48.5%) changed residence once every five years, half of them moving within a city or town, the other half going to another city or province. Today the trend is to more stability: in 1986, only 43.7% of Canadians had moved in the previous five years. [20]

Family-related changes affect both individuals and society.

Families are affected by these bewildering, simultaneous changes and trends. Most families adapt, continue, cope and even thrive. Some do not. According to Margaret Mead,

> ...we now expect a family to achieve alone what no other society has ever expected an individual family to accomplish unaided. In effect, we call upon the individual family to do what a whole clan used to do. [21]

All families need to be acknowledged, recognized and supported so that they can perform their many functions more effectively. To different degrees, health, education and social services support all families, not just those in difficulties.

Some families receive special help from governments, charitable organizations, educators, religious groups and voluntary associations because they are judged to be in serious difficulties. Most of the people who provide that help feel that despite all their efforts there is much more that needs to be done. They feel that there should not only be more dollars but also more attention to how the system works — its principles, goals and means.

Many Canadians react positively to this era of dramatic changes to the family. They celebrate the advantageous aspects of change, often talking about increases in freedom and opportunity. Others take a less optimistic view; for them, the very essence of the family is in danger. Advocates of these two opposing points of view engage in frequent and sometimes emotional debates. Sometimes statistics are misinterpreted, and misinformation results.

For example:

Myths about lone parents

> "Never before in Canada's history have there been so many lone parents."
>
> True, but the **proportion** of families headed by lone parents today is not greatly different from fifty years ago. (In 1936, 12.2%; in 1986, 12.7%.)

However, the major reason for lone parenthood has changed over the past half century. Then, the dominant reason was widowhood; now, the dominant reason is divorce. [22]

Myths about adolescent pregnancy

> "Never before have there been so many 'children having children.'"
>
> Not true. The rate of childbearing by teenagers has been declining steadily for twenty years.
>
> However, there has been an increase in the number of teenage mothers keeping their children (as opposed to putting them up for adoption). Interestingly enough, there has also been a significant increase in childbearing by single women in their late twenties and thirties.

Myths about poverty

> "The largest group of people with children in poverty are single parents."

Not true. Two-parent families with children make up the largest group of families in poverty.

However, if you are a woman leading a lone-parent family, you are more likely to be poor. (The majority of female lone parents live below the poverty line.) [23]

Myths about the "typical family"

"The typical Canadian family is composed of two married adults, only one of whom is employed, plus their two children."

Not true. It is no longer reasonable to talk about a "typical Canadian family."

No one type of family dominates the statistics today as did the single wage-earner nuclear family of the 1950s. There is now a large majority of husband-wife families that relies on two incomes. More than 7% of Canada's families are led by common-law couples. Almost 13% are single parent families. The phrase, "the typical family" is out-dated and misleading. [24]

These myths are offered to illustrate how sincere concern can lead to misrepresentation of fact and even to misallocation of resources. These examples are by no means a denial of suffering and need, but they do emphasize the necessity for accurate and complete information when designing policy, programs or services.

Chapter 2

The Challenges

Every country has a family policy, if only by default.

According to Daniel Patrick Moynihan,

> [It is] in the nature of modern industrial society [that] no government, however firm might be its wish, can avoid having policies that profoundly influence family relationships. This is not to be avoided. The only option is whether these will be purposeful, intended policies or whether they will be residual, derivative, in a sense concealed ones. [25]

Trends in Canadian families present challenges.

No trend is without both negative and positive aspects, both of which are significant for policy formation. Accordingly, the following list includes "the two sides of the coin" — the positive opportunities and benefits, as well as the problems and needs.

Age

> We can expect to live much longer — and, particularly if we are women, to live longer **alone** —than any group of people who have ever lived.
>
> However, not only are individual Canadians living longer, but also because of reduced birth-rates over the past 25 years, the elderly make up a larger percentage of the population. This situation, which is common to all industrialized countries, is known as an "aging society." Fifteen per cent of Canada's

population is over 60, as is the case of most developed countries. As people living in an aging society, we have different expectations about our lives from those of our grandparents and great-grandparents. Our new standards of longevity and fertility present us with individual and societal challenges that are new in the history of the human race. They have particularly strong impacts on the inter-generational aspects of families as they convey ideas and goods —as well as support — from one generation to the next.

An aging society has more seniors who will need a variety of supports in order to continue to participate fully in society and to lead active, self-sufficient lives. These will be particularly apparent in the areas of health care, specialized housing, transportation and income security.

In Canada more than half of the elderly live in family situations, and more families than ever before are caring for one or more elderly family members. More people have increasing responsibilities to their parents at the same time as they have dependent children of their own, but there are also many elderly people who lack the care that families often provide.

Families have always cared for both the young and the old, but until recently in Canada helping the next generation grow up has eclipsed looking after the old. There have never been so few children and so many old people as today. If you are a woman, you can expect to spend 17 years of your life caring for children and 18 years helping an aging parent. It is a challenge to find the human time and energy to do justice to the needs and contributions of older people.

On the other hand, we can look forward to longer, more productive, healthier, more enjoyable lives. Once the group most likely to be in poverty, most senior citizens now enjoy a greater degree of financial security than they did twenty years ago.

Furthermore, an increasing number of those entering middle age are conscious of and better prepared for retirement. Culturally, the presence of large numbers of elders has the capacity to enrich their own lives and the lives of those with whom they come into contact.

Heritage

Canadian families differ in the cultural origins that give them character. Families from the English- and French-speaking linguistic and cultural groups account for approximately two-thirds of all Canadians. The last third is composed of North American First Peoples and people who trace their origins from many nationalities and ethnic groups all over the world.

For the past two centuries and until recently, immigration from Europe was Canada's major source of population increase (other than births); however, during the past few decades immigrants have increasingly come from the continents of Africa, Asia and South America.

Canada's multi-cultural, multi-ethnic society demands respect for and recognition of the benefits that flow from all the cultural traditions now represented by Canada's many families. The challenge to all Canadians is to preserve a fair-minded and orderly society

for both newcomers and Canadians of long standing. Of necessity this means that everyone must adapt to some degree. Since change is not always welcome, it will require a deliberate effort to ensure that families are not harmed by bigotry or racism of any kind. Ethnic diversity has tested and proved Canada's commitments to fairness and the rule of law under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This is a continuing process.

Because so many of our cultural assumptions and habits are formed in the first few years of our lives, families tend to be important forces in preserving inherited customs. At the official, formal level, Canada's multiculturalism policy, which encourages people to maintain their traditions, is a counter-balance to the North American individualism that can lead people to reject their backgrounds, particularly if they feel pressured to conform to social norms of the majority. At the private, largely unnoticed level, families help preserve cultural continuity by preserving an appreciation of their distinctive traditions and values.

Religion

Religions characteristically preserve and teach familial values. Even though most denominations report declining attendance at regular religious observances, Canadians return to religion when they go through rites of passage such as marriage, naming, coming of age and death. Significantly, all these events are familial in nature, and are particularly concerned with relationships among generations.

Along with the new patterns of immigration comes an increasing diversity of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious traditions of Canada's families. The challenge for Canadians is to respect religious preferences, particularly when planning and implementing social measures that affect families.

Geographic location

More and more Canadian families live in large urban areas. Urbanization has enriched many lives by providing opportunities for families to achieve their economic and social goals. The consequences of urbanization continue to affect and be affected by families. There are subtle but important changes involved in moving to a crowded and swiftly-changing urban environment from rural locations, villages or small towns, which tend to have strong senses of community. Among these changes are the obvious lifestyle changes, the trend away from home-owning to renting, and the trend for there to be fewer extended families and more nuclear or one-parent families.

On the other hand there is also the perception, and in some cases the fact, that there is more crime, violence and other social ills in cities than in rural areas.

The challenge is to make our cities places in which families can thrive. Attitudes to urban life are changing. Some Canadian cities have shown a sensitivity to the different needs of seniors, small children, teenagers and adults by providing spaces and programs directed to all these varying stages of family life. Community groups have helped promote new awareness of public safety which rejects the view

that muggings and violent attacks — especially against women and children — are inevitable consequences of city life. An increasing number of Canadians would like to realize the ideal of a "neighbourhood in which families live together."

Marriage and divorce

The consequences of both marriage and divorce are as varied as the individuals involved. The vast majority (more than 85%) of Canadians marry at least once, and the majority of Canadian marriages do, for better or worse, last a lifetime. However, projections suggest that up to 40% of marriages entered into today will end in divorce.

The challenge is to strive towards enhancing the relationships between spouses so that it is more likely that they will be able to sustain the commitments and aspirations they brought to their marriages. However, in view of the high rates of divorce, an important priority is to minimize the damaging consequences of separation and divorce for both the former spouses and their children.

Virtually all families undergoing separation or divorce need support, counselling and help, most only for a relatively short period of time. Friends and relatives may fill this need, but there is increasing use of support groups, family counselling, family mediation and psychiatric help.

More people are getting divorced, but the most likely consequence of divorce is re-marriage. As has already been mentioned, divorce now causes more lone parents than death of a spouse. Divorce, which was

once regarded only negatively, is now often seen as a solution. Nonetheless, divorce does create difficulties that challenge individuals, families and society as a whole.

The divorce rate in most western societies leads to the conclusion that marriage is not necessarily lifelong, whatever the intentions of those about to wed. It is useful, therefore, to distinguish between marriages and families with children, particularly where divorce is concerned. The presence of children means that the lives of father, mother and child continue to be intertwined, whatever the legal relationship may be. These connections are of immense personal importance and affect both private and public life.

Families are being reshaped by divorce and subsequent re-marriage in ways that alter the preconceptions about marriage and family that were prevalent only a generation ago. The challenge is to ensure that there is a wide range of supportive services for people going through divorce. Government must ensure through income security programs that the economic consequences of separation and divorce are borne equally by the former spouses and that children do not become innocent victims of the poverty so often experienced by single mothers and their children.

The birth rate

Canadians are now reproducing below the replacement rate of 2.1 children per woman. Canada's low birth rate has brought changes in families that include: more people with fewer siblings; more only children; more people with fewer cousins, aunts and uncles — in short, fewer relatives.

The positive side of reducing the number of children within a society is the possibility that every child is wanted, loved and cherished by its family. In social policy terms, Canada has relatively few children to care for, which makes it possible and desirable to ensure that they are healthy, well-nourished, well-educated and able to take their places as contributing members of society.

The low birth rate also raises economic questions about where Canada's work force will come from in the next 20 to 50 years. Social security raises other questions such as: who will pay the taxes for all the programs and services that will be needed in an aging society? No democratic, developed country has reversed the twentieth-century trend toward continually smaller families. Because immigration will likely become crucial in maintaining a stable Canadian population, another challenge is to maintain a multicultural society based on fairness and respect for all its citizens and residents.

Child care

Caring for children remains the most generally recognized and basic responsibility of families. Half a century ago, child care was economically invisible because in the main it happened inside the family and involved no exchange of money. Today many mothers are much older than their own mothers or grandmothers were on having their first children. Moreover, these are mothers who are most likely to be working, fitting child-bearing and -rearing around the demands of their jobs. Dual-income families as well as lone working parents must arrange for child care during their working hours.

The vast majority of children are cared for by relatives, friends and other unregulated child care providers. Only ten per cent of children are in regulated or formal child care institutions. Many of today's families are smaller and less self-sustaining in terms of household responsibilities and cannot call upon cousins, aunts, grandparents and siblings for in-home child care on an informal basis.

Parenting is no less important during adolescence and beyond. Teenagers, even though they no longer need the continual attention necessary for babies, infants and small children, are at an age of high risk for behaviourial problems that can include trouble with the law, premature pregnancy, drug use and suicide, all of which are more likely to occur to children whose families are disadvantaged or distressed or find it difficult to carry out their day-to-day parental responsibilities.

Work and wages

Thirty years ago most Canadian families relied on one wage-earner, but by 1986 the proportion was reversed, and two-income families are now in the majority.

Families are earning more dollars than a decade ago. However, after correcting for inflation the average family income rose very little in the 80s. Taxes at all three levels (federal, provincial and municipal) have increased in the same period, seriously eroding any gains made since 1983.

Both men and women are working longer and harder both outside and inside the home to maintain today's

smaller families. This necessary economic activity takes its toll in human terms. Families are important enough for people to be willing to work harder to support them, but families get only the time and energy that is left over.

Although fewer families are in poverty, most are feeling the pinch. Lone-parent, single-income families are those most likely to be poor.

Fifty years ago relatively few women worked within the formal economy. As a consequence, what was then called "a living wage" was supposed to support not just the (male) wage-earner, but also his wife and children. The real value of the average wage has been declining so that today it is usual for both marriage partners to work, and the average woman has two, one or no children where her mother or grandmother had three, four or more.

On average, working women earn about two-thirds of what men earn. Nonetheless, a woman still works the same number of hours in the day as her husband does. Yet, at the end of her day of paid work she is most likely to do more housework, child care, food preparation and general family maintenance than her spouse.

Quite simply, one (average) income is no longer enough to sustain a family. Most working wives are not providing affluence or luxury. Many women are working part-time at jobs with little or no career potential, and many of these women are married and/or have children. Clearly, it is the new economics of the home that motivates most women to become working wives and mothers.

A challenge to any future employment policy is the recognition of familial obligations. In part this can be achieved through pay equity between men and women, in part by legitimating and enhancing the time and money available for parenting. Generally, what is needed is increased acknowledgement of familial obligations by employers, for example: improved parental leave for all workers, improved access to affordable day care, family leave policies, enhanced benefits to part-time workers.

Lone parents

Nowhere is the problem of the working parent more acute than in lone-parent families, which are far more likely to be poor than other types of families. Poor working parents have difficulty affording child care, not to mention purchasing labour- and time-saving homes and appliances. It is a mistake, however, to think of a lone-parent family as inherently pathological. There are many adults who were successfully raised earlier this century by widows and widowers. It is not family structure but rather poverty and isolation that are the crucial factors causing difficulties for lone-parent families and developmental problems for children.

The challenge is to ensure that lone parents (most of them women) and their children are not condemned to lives that are unfairly limited through no fault of their own.

Child poverty

Close to one million of Canada's children live below the poverty line. Large families are more likely to be in poverty than small ones. The majority of children being raised by single mothers live in poverty.

Child poverty is essentially family poverty. The policy challenge is to respond appropriately to one very basic fact: **poor children are the sons and daughters of poor parents**. This concept has implications for policy planning, in that the children of poor parents cannot be considered in isolation from the adults who have responsibility for them. Young children cannot be given money or services directly as can independent adults; their needs must be addressed in the context of their families. In order to reach the children who are blameless victims, policy and programs must deal with families in poverty, which is to say, with the complex economic and social problem of poverty itself.

Family violence

Increasingly, Canadians reject family violence and sexual abuse in particular. Public opinion is overwhelmingly opposed to levels of violence that were less visible but commonplace only a generation ago. The challenge is to translate this widely-held opinion into significant changes in behaviour. Society must first ensure the safety and security of women, children, old people and the physically or mentally disadvantaged. It must break the cycle of violence that often involves generation after generation in the same tragic patterns of behaviour. Moreover, it must promote greater equality in the relationships between men and women in their homes, in the work place and in the community.

As these challenges indicate, the inter-connectedness of family functions with social institutions can hardly be overemphasized. Families decide whether to have children in the context of social, cultural, economic, political and even technological realities. The consequent "reproduction

rate" affects the overall structure of society, with specific effects upon employment, immigration and economic productivity, as well as the educational, health care and social systems. Changes in family structure imply new challenges in responding to the needs of lone-parent families, the children of divorce, the remarried, the aging, workers with family responsibilities, the victims of family violence, and many other significant family situations.

Chapter 3

A Way of Thinking About Families

Families are changing faster than ever.

In addition to all the specific ways in which families are changing and adapting, there are two general factors: the increased rate of change, and the increased variety in families. Less than a lifetime ago, the majority of Canadian families were composed of two adults, only one of whom was employed, in a permanent union that produced three to five children. All other kinds of family were the exception. Today, the exceptions are the rule. Essentially, there is no longer one typical Canadian family.

It is important to realize that families have **always** changed in response to circumstances by altering their size, structure and patterns of functioning. Over the centuries families have been in a constant state of adaptation to the natural environment as well as to current political, religious and social conditions. However, there have probably been few periods in history during which families have changed so much within living memory as they have in the second half of the twentieth century.

The recent changes in Canadian families, although they may be disturbing to some, are part of the process which cannot be avoided and will not go away. However, change can be modified and directed by intelligent action, because some changes in families are more desirable than others. The problem is to frame policies and programs that will encourage desirable change (or discourage undesirable trends) **without** adversely affecting other families or their individual members or compromising anyone's human rights.

The need for a fresh way of thinking about families.

First there must be an understanding of what families are and do. However, information alone, essential though it is, will not solve the policy problems associated with families. Families can only be examined meaningfully if all their biological, psychological, sociological and economic aspects are taken into account. Policies and programs will fail if they are based on an approach that thinks of families in any of the following limited ways:

- mere groups of individuals (does not recognize the implications of their relatedness)
- static or unchanging entities (does not take into account individuals' changing ages and roles)
- analogous to firms and companies (does not value the permanence and intimacy of relationships in families)
- similar to the specialized governmental agencies with discrete responsibilities such as health or education (does not comprehend the multi-faceted aspect of families and the individuals that constitute them.)

Instead, we must regard families in a broad perspective and attempt to constantly evaluate the effects on families of every kind of existing or proposed public policy. No blanket approach will work. Instead of looking for a single family policy to solve all problems, every person and institution whose work affects families needs to adopt a family-oriented perspective whenever policies, programs and activities are considered. From the outset and all along the way, we all need to ask questions about how what we do will affect families and adjust our plans accordingly.

All families are not the same.

There are more than six million families in Canada. That number includes married couples with or without children, lone parents, people cohabiting, as well as remarried couples. Instead of describing families simply in terms of membership and structure, many researchers prefer to focus on what families do. An inclusive definition of families and their functions admits diversity and concentrates on function. It has the advantage of being societally neutral, not relying on any one national, historical, religious, or ethical set of assumptions — which is a matter of great importance in a free and pluralistic society.

A functional definition of family

FAMILY

Any combination of two or more persons who are bound together by ties of mutual consent, birth and/or adoption/placement and which serves the interest of individuals and societies by ensuring the

- physical maintenance and care of its members;

and/or

- addition of new societal members through procreation or adoption and their relinquishment when mature;

and/or

- socialization of children for adult roles, such as those of spouse, parent, worker, neighbour, voter and community member;

and/or

- social control of members (the maintenance or order within the family and groups external to it);

and/or

- production and consumption of goods and services needed to support and maintain the family unit;

and/or

- maintenance of family morale and motivation to ensure task performance both within the family and the other social groups.

Families are open systems.

Just as individual human beings are both actors within society and acted upon by it, so families can be thought of as simultaneously active and receptive agents within society. Families, the many forces at work on them, and their contribution to society are best understood as systems, the sum of many interacting parts. Moreover, families are **open systems**. Families are open to all kinds of social, political, economic and natural influences. At the same time, families greatly influence their environment. For example, families in advanced industrial societies appear to have fewer children. In turn, smaller families result in many other changes in society such as empty schools, lower demand for big cars and apartments, and a smaller workforce. Those changes, in turn, may influence families.

Families respond to change by adapting and changing **themselves**. An automobile is a closed, mechanical system. It must be redesigned or replaced by someone outside its system. Families, unlike automobiles, re-design and restore themselves.

As humanity's most basic social institution, families provide an organizational framework that pre-dates all other forms of social organization, from communities, villages, cities, towns, to religions, countries and nations. Because families are a necessary and continuous link between each individual and his or her society, they affect and are affected by all these social institutions. Nonetheless, the role of families in society is usually taken for granted. Families in general are largely unrecognized for the many ways in which they provide continuity from generation to generation in terms of ideas, ideals, knowledge, goods, money, skills, traditions and customs.

Thinking about families as systems helps us to recognize how families interact with and are involved in neighbourhoods and communities; with the workplace; with law, government and the political system; and throughout all these different involvements, with values as expressed by culture, religion and moral codes of behaviour. This approach leads us to see families and their functions as **permeating** our society, rather than as just another institution, problem, issue or group. Likewise, all domains of public policy contribute to the environment that shapes and influences families. With this understanding, we see once again the need not so much for specific family policies as for an examination of how all institutional policies affect families.

Families are open systems, organizations are specialized systems.

Unlike families, organizations are specialized systems that in turn include ever more specialized sub-systems. Governments for instance work through departments with names such as "Community Services," "Environment," "Housing," "Health and Welfare," "Labour," "Revenue and Taxation" and so on. Each department and level of government is limited by its mandate and constrained by its bureaucratic systems. Likewise, non-profit groups work through committees and sub-committees while businesses assign specialized tasks to departments, divisions, and a formal chain of command.

By contrast, families function as an integrated, intuitively-organized whole. They are neither specialized nor limited by mandates: they and their members are involved with many such functions on a daily basis. Families are also seamless in their activities: parents do not say to themselves, "Now I am acting in the role of educator, now I am carrying out the mandate of the Department of Social Services, now I am functioning to fulfil the purposes of the Department of Health."

Often when governments, community groups, or employers attempt to be supportive of families the mis-match between the open, integrated, intuitive functioning of a family and the specialized, sub-specialized and formal systems of institutions and their service delivery systems becomes apparent. There may be dozens of government agencies and departments that could offer help of one kind or another to families: skills training, nutritional or psychological counselling, social assistance, housing, education, legal aid... Service clubs may offer free eyeglasses or summer camp for the children. Employers may offer

employee assistance programs, family leave, flexible work schedules. Yet the complexity of finding one's way through the maze of separate programs and successfully obtaining that aid is often beyond the ability of either ordinary people or helping professionals. There are few agencies with the knowledge and resources to help family members "look at the big picture," evaluate their options, and find assistance that makes sense, is easy to understand and works effectively on several issues at once.

Many organizations respond to the specific problems that some families face. Few organizations consider or are equipped to deal with those problems as a whole. Institutional approaches tend to be piecemeal, oriented toward individuals, narrow in focus or limited in scope. Families, as open systems with a huge range of responsibilities and commitments, do not respond well to such approaches.

A systemic approach is broad, a remedial approach is narrow.

Systemic policies include remedial measures, but not vice-versa. The fragmented way in which most institutions deal with family concerns is essentially remedial in nature. The remedial approach to family policy concentrates on families with serious problems, assuming that families can be taken for granted unless something goes wrong. The remedial approach tends to see families as closed, private systems that are separate and apart from the rest of society.

Dealing with the full range of issues that affect families requires a broader or systemic approach that views families as open systems operating within a complex environment. Governments and other institutions often debate the merits of systemic versus remedial approaches. Many

countries view systemic policies with suspicion because they feel that this approach is centralist, paternalistic or socialistic. Often governments seek to exclude systemic policies and to downplay, ignore, and even reduce the extent to which families in general can depend upon the support of the larger community.

The systemic approach, on the other hand, both supports families in which something has gone seriously wrong and adopts policies that will prevent other families from suffering the same misfortunes. A useful analogy is to the difference between medicine that focuses only on sickness and preventive medicine that focuses on the wider issues of ensuring continued health.

Deciding to help only disadvantaged families ignores those that are **vulnerable** or **at risk of** becoming disadvantaged, and may ultimately prove more costly. For example:

- General immunization costs less than $50 per child; keeping a mentally retarded child in an institution costs $25,000 annually.

- Comprehensive pre-natal care costs approximately $600 per mother per pregnancy; keeping low birth-weight babies alive through what can be several weeks of intensive neonatal care costs more than $1,000 daily.

No developed country has an exclusively remedial philosophy and approach to the family. Family-supportive policies such as public health, education, housing, potable water and sewage improve life for **all** families, and have been in place for generations in developed nations. However, particularly when economic conditions worsen, people tend to forget the systemic approach and seek to

substitute remedial approaches, aimed solely at families in distress. Most such remedial programs miss significant aspects of the problems they are designed to solve. Many stigmatize the recipients. All fail to prevent people and families from falling into similar distress.

The competing, systemic view suggests that governments and institutions should have positive and strategic family policies that benefit the whole nation rather than just certain disadvantaged groups. Some nations, notably France, Germany, Sweden and Norway, consciously strive to improve the welfare of all families with policies that are preventive as well as remedial, strategic as well as reactive. The essence of the systemic approach is that it integrates all family-related policies so that what is done by one department or agency does not undo what is done by another. These countries argue cogently that policies that respond to the needs of families in difficulty can **only** be effective if they are implemented within the context of **coordinated** policies and programs that support families. Moreover, they claim that this approach is no more expensive and that it does not demean or stigmatize families in difficulties.

Historically, Canada, like the UK, has balanced between the two approaches. On the one hand it has taken the systemic approach in creating "universal" programs such as the "baby bonus" and Old Age Security. On the other it has applied remedial efforts to such policy targets as unemployment, regional development, poverty and the particular needs of the aged, youth and women.

A systemic policy of its nature includes remedial measures. Because it takes a preventive and ameliorative approach to social problems, it deliberately invests money in such family-related initiatives as income security programs,

parental leave and child care strategies, drug-use prevention, inoculation and immunization, pre-natal classes, as well as public health, urban planning, public education, housing, potable water, sewage treatment, etc. Developed nations are characterized by and are the beneficiaries of a high level of such systemic policies. In effect, they are like investments that "pay off" in industrial productivity, higher standards of living, lowered need for expensive remedial measures to overcome the consequences of poverty, disease, crime, family violence and so on.

An effective systemic approach extends to every aspect of how society is organized. It includes government, and it also extends to what the state requires the private sector to do through social legislation on wages and hours, industrial safety, non discriminatory behaviour and so on. It affects companies in ways that profit both businesses and families, for example flextime or job-sharing. The systemic approach reaches into the social attitudes shared by individuals, companies, corporations and a wide variety of organizations. Some may have no immediate connection with families. Others like service clubs, self-help groups, and religious communities offer direct services to individuals and families.

A systemic approach need not involve radical or expensive change. Sometimes, it may simply require recognizing what has always been the case, for example, the use of "sick days" for familial purposes. By recognizing that the health of a child or parent can be an acceptable reason for an employees' absence from the job, workers and employers no longer have to lie to one another. Often, morale improves, and with it loyalty and productivity. The cumulative effect of many such changes can shape our family lives in profound and positive ways.

Chapter 4

Principles and Pathways

Family policies are presently fragmented.

Public policies of governments, employers and community organizations of all kinds affect families. The left-hand column in the following table lists the things that families do, as enumerated in the definition of families on page 34. On the left, opposite those family functions, corresponding areas of public policy appear. The table shows plainly the overlap among functions and issues and the great many public policies which influence families.

Functional Definition	Public Policy
Any combination of two or more persons who are bound together by ties of mutual consent, birth and/or adop tion/placement and which serves the interest of individuals and societies by ensuring the:	marriage and divorce inheritance family law
• physical maintenance and care of its members;	health, safety housing
• addition of new societal members through procrea tion or adoption and their relinquishment when mature;	family planning adoption age of majority foster care estate planning legislation
• socialization of children for adult roles, such as those of spouse, parent, worker, neighbour, voter and community member;	education religion citizenship communications human rights community groups

Functional Definition	Public Policy
• social control of members (the maintenance of order within the family and groups external to it);	the justice system religion social services organized labour criminal code (family violence)
• production and consumption of goods and services needed to support and maintain the family unit;	employment and work place policies Unemployment Insurance pensions, consumer law corporate decision-making, organized labour, fiscal regimes, taxation
• maintenance of family morale and motivation to ensure task performance both within the family and in other social groups.	recreation, sport art multiculturalism community planning counselling

Toward a family perspective on public policy: a checklist of principles.

A systemic approach requires a coordinated approach to policy and programming. A first step is to establish principles than can be applied by all those whose work affects families. They should keep in mind the following principles whether they work at the level of policy or program implementation.

1. **Families are necessary.**

   We must first acknowledge the social utility of families. From this recognition will flow support for the physical care and maintenance, economic, nurturant, educational and social control functions they perform.

2. **Families are not all the same.**

   Because families are diverse, it is vital - and challenging - to design policies and programs that are both flexible, fair and equitable to all families. For example, a policy framed with single-earner nuclear families in mind will not necessarily serve the needs of single-parent or dual-earner families.

3. **There are distinct phases to family life.**

   At different times in each person's life, he or she is child, adult, perhaps spouse, parent, or grandparent. From the perspective of the individual, there is change as he or she encounters each phase of family life; from the perspective of society, the family continues. The challenge is to recognize and respond to the changing nature of individual needs within an evolving family.

4. **Families are distinct from marriages.**

   Many, but not all families are based on marriage. As a consequence, public policy must concentrate on family functions rather than idealized family forms. Such is the only legitimate focus of public policy in a society committed to the protection of human rights and the benefits of pluralism.

5. **Families are affected by policies directed to individuals, institutions and groups.**

   Families are affected by most social and economic policies, whether or not this is their main aim. Policy-makers must remain aware of this central reality in order to make **all** policies responsive to families and their needs.

6. **Families are best able to discharge their own functional responsibilities.**

   Function and needs-based involvement by governments and other organizations does not detract from families' responsibilities. For example, parental custody, even under imperfect conditions, is in most cases preferable to institutional care. Good policies allow families maximum autonomy and freedom while at the same time providing timely and appropriate assistance and protection when necessary.

7. **Family functions involve productive work.**

   Families and the individuals within them do productive work that has economic and social utility. Society must recognize that every family is a working family and be willing to provide appropriate acknowledgement and rewards for that work. As such, it must avoid creating obstacles or disincentives such as employment policies which discourage parents from attending to family responsibilities.

8. **Families require the cooperation of individuals and society as a whole.**

   It is not only parents who maintain families: communities, institutions, employers, the professions and governments at all levels all have contributions to make. Such contributions can offer valuable support; their absence can make the work of families far more difficult. Consider the importance of programs such as Meals on Wheels, Neighbourhood Watch, and community recreation for the families they serve.

9. **Family and workplace responsibilities must be balanced.**

   The productive roles of people as workers must be in harmony with their responsibilities and obligations as family members to their children, their parents, their kin and their neighbours. The challenge is to organize our society so that people can choose both the reward of productive, creative work, and the satisfaction of being part of a family.

10. **Families are multi-generational.**

    The generations are interdependent, each in turn giving and receiving from the other as individuals pass through the life cycle. Sound policies encourage a transference from generation to generation without creating a permanently favoured class based on inherited wealth and property.

Pathways to family-oriented policies: no single family policy

People often speak of a single family policy, by which they usually mean a collection of a few specific programs that directly affect families such as child care, Family Allowance, welfare regulations or parental leave. Yet to reflect the above principles and to be truly supportive to families

requires far more than a narrow focus in a few policy areas. The table on page 42 suggests the wide range of policies which define the worlds in which our families reside. This section examines in greater detail the kinds of policy considerations which, taken together, shape the lives of families.

Finances, income and economics play an enormous role in determining the health of families. Policies may either support or constrain them in their economic roles as producers, consumers and distributors of goods and services by such policies and programs as:

- government transfers like family allowance, low-income tax credits, social assistance and allowances for specific family needs;
- taxation principles and practices;
- pension plans;
- labour market strategies;
- wage regulations;
- labour force adjustment policies;
- affirmative action rules and regulations;
- personnel policies;
- insurance policies; and
- unemployment insurance benefits.

Housing. A house may not make a home, but it is hard to provide a sound family home without good housing. The housing needs of families vary according to family size, life cycle stage and membership and are addressed or not by those policies and programs that, for instance;

- determine the money supply for building and purchase of homes and rental accommodation;
- permit or prevent discrimination against families and children;
- subsidize expenses incurred by families in caring for dependent elders;

- provide a range of housing alternatives for either the victims or perpetrators of family violence;
- encourage ownership and occupancy of homes by specific kinds of families such as those with modest incomes, the elderly, those with children, loneparent families, etc.;
- subsidize the housing costs of the poor;
- facilitate cooperative housing projects; or
- encourage the design of neighbourhoods and communities with the safety and well-being of families and children in mind.

Socialization. Much of the work of families lies in preparing the next generation for the duties of citizenship. The educational, socialization and social control responsibilities of families are supported and/or constrained by:

- the curricula, teaching methods and systems of accountability of public systems of education;
- family life education programming for children, young people and adults as sponsored by educational institutions or other organizations;
- the roles assigned to religious organizations and other voluntary groups;
- student loan programs;
- the custody determinations of courts at the time of separation and divorce;
- policing and correctional policies and practices;
- public education programs pertaining to health and parenting;
- broadcast regulations and policies;
- the design and availability of cultural and multicultural programs;
- the provision of recreation opportunities to families and to family members;
- and so on.

Physical nurturing is a principle responsibility for families. The reproductive roles of families in procreation, health education and health care are influenced by, among others:

- pro- or anti-natalist policies;
- laws and regulations pertaining to contraceptive practices and abortion;
- health care delivery systems;
- health promotion and education programs;
- encouragement and support of health-oriented research;
- public health policies and practices;
- financial costs and rewards of care provided by family members and the availability of supports to informal caregivers;
- the protection of consumers;
- the design of safe environments for children;
- efforts to reduce economic inequities and assure the availability of adequate housing and nutrition;
- the enhancement of formal and informal community networks of health and social support; and
- environmental protection legislation and practices of communities, industries and governments.

Direct family assistance. Finally, there is the rather broad array of policies and programs that are actually intended to directly assist individuals and families in performing their functions or to modify the ways in which they do so. Indeed, limiting definitions of family policy tend to emphasize, to the exclusion of other public policy domains, the role of such family and social services as:

- supplemental child care;
- individual and family counselling and therapy;
- community mental health programs and practices;
- homemaker services;
- delinquency and correctional programs and practices;

- drug treatment programs;
- adoption services;
- foster care programs;
- the protection of family members from other family members;
- debt counselling;
- divorce mediation;
- family advocacy; and
- support for self-help or mutual aid groups.

Ultimately, the search for "a family policy" is misleading. Rather than one single family policy, what is needed is a family-focussed perspective on public policies. If we are to build a systematic, coordinated and coherent approach to strengthening and supporting families, we will have to attend to both explicit policies which are intended to influence families and a broad array of public policies that unintentionally or indirectly affect families. In order to maintain this perspective, we will need to develop tools to help us evaluate the real or anticipated consequences for families of the policies we shape.

POSITIVE POLICIES FOR FAMILIES: INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE

Social benefits flow both to and from families.

The pervasive benefits families confer on society are rarely noticed, seldom valued and almost never encouraged. Solar eclipses are news, but the daily rising sun goes unnoticed.

Families have the major task of producing, nurturing and educating children as complete human beings. Too often the work of families has been overlooked or disparaged. Today there is a growing understanding of the importance of this work. Some of the important family functions that

until recently were overlooked include the acquisition of language and literacy, the nurturing of basic social skills and responses and the many and varied economic contributions of families to the well-being of their members and to society at large.

The administration, financing and governance of modern nation-states such as Canada depend on the contributions that families make to society. These include providing workers, consumers and taxpayers as well as the children who will fulfil these roles in adulthood. However, in focussing on these pragmatic and individualistic roles the state tends to value people **only** as wage-earners, consumers and taxpayers; seldom and infrequently does the machinery of government address people in their continuing role as parents of the next generation or caregivers to the last one.

The changes in family structure and the consequent alterations in the ways families function imply a whole new set of challenges for individuals within families, families within the larger society, the many economic, cultural and social organizations and government itself at all levels. Specifically, these challenges include the relatively new (or newly increased) needs of groups such as: lone parents, the children of divorce, the remarried, the aging, workers with family responsibilities and the victims of family violence.

These are challenges that must be met not only for the sake of all individuals at risk, but as well for the sake of future generations and for the sake of our society itself. We do not compromise our individuality by supporting each other in familial ways; rather, we re-discover age-old human satisfactions and rewards. To the extent that we respect and acknowledge the central place of families in our lives through our beliefs, behaviours and public policies, we find fulfillment ourselves. We must therefore renew our

commitment to families in general at the same time as we strive to respond as best we can to the needs of the most vulnerable individuals and families. In the words of Australian family researcher Don Edgar:

> There must continue to be crisis-oriented services because the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff can sometimes save the wounded. But it is the fence around the top that really matters, and no approach to family policy that ignores the universal needs of families for assistance can succeed. [26]

Notes

1. Vanier Institute of the Family, **Canadian Families**, 1991, p. 3.
2. Allan Gregg and Michael Posner, **The Big Picture: What Canadians Think About Almost Everything**. (Toronto: Macfarlane, Walter and Ross, 1990) p. 137 (Reproduced with express permission)
3. Vanier Institute of the Family, **Canadian Families**, 1991, p. 8.
4. Based on data in "Families: Diversity the New Norm," Mary Anne Burke, **Canadian Social Trends**, Summer 1986, p. 6; and "Women Parenting Alone," Maureen Moore, **Canadian Social Trends**, Winter 1987, p. 31.
5. Source: based on data in **Women in Canada: A Statistical Report**, Second Edition, Statistics Canada 1990, p. 18, (Tables 7 & 8).
6. Based on data in **Women in Canada: A Statistical Report**, Second Edition. Statistics Canada, 1990, p. 18 (Table 7).
7. Statistics Canada, **Canada Yearbook 1990**, pages 2-9.
8. Vanier Institute of the Family, **Canadian Families**, 1991, p. 10.
9. Based on data in **Current Demographics Analysis: New Trends in the Family: Demographic Facts and Figures**, Bali Ram, Statistics Canada, 1990, p. 26 (Figure 3.1).
10. From **Canada, A Source Book**, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990, based on data published in **Canada Yearbook 1990**, Statistics Canada, pp. 2-7, 2-8.
11. From **Canada, A Source Book**, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990, based on data published in **Canada Yearbook 1990**, Statistics Canada, pp. 2-7, 2-8.
12. From **Canada, A Source Book**, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990, based on data published in **Canada Yearbook 1990**, Statistics Canada, pp. 2-7, 2-8.
13. Vanier Institute of the Family, **Canadian Families**, 1991, p. 13.
14. Based on data in **Women in Canada: A Statistical Report**, Second Edition, Statistics Canada, 1990, p. 112 (Table 4).
15. Based on data from **Census of Canada 1961**, Part 1 (Tables 73, 89); **Census of Canada 1971**, Volume 2, Part 2 (Tables 78, 79); **Census of Canada 1981** (Tables 14, 18); **Census of Canada 1986** (Table 1).
16. Vanier Institute of the Family, **Canadian Families**, 1991, p. 14.
17. Based on data in "Child Care" by Mary Anne Burke, **Canadian Social Trends**, Summer, 1986, p. 19.
18. Statistics Canada, **Canada Yearbook 1990**, pages 2-5.
19. From "Urban Canada," Mary Anne Burke, **Canadian Social Trends**, Winter 1987, pp. 12-18.
20. Statistics Canada, **Canada Yearbook 1990**, pages 2-16.
21. Vanier Institute of the Family, "Day Care: A Resource for the Contemporary Family", Ottawa, 1969.
22. Vanier Institute of the Family, **Canadian Families**, 1991, p. 9.
23. Based on data in **Fighting Child Poverty: A Brief by the National Council of Welfare presented to the Sub-Committee on Poverty of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Health and Welfare, Social Affairs, Seniors and the Status of Women**. National Council of Welfare, 1990, p. 47 (Table 6). [Based on 1988 data].

[24] Mary Sue Devereaux, "1986 Census Highlights: Changes in Living Arrangements," **Canadian Social Trends**, no. 12, Spring 1989, p. 27.

[25] Daniel Patrick Moynihan, **Family and Nation**, New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch, 1986, p. 12.

[26] Don Edgar, "Strengthening Families in the 1990s", Australian Family Institute, **Family Matters**, no. 23, April 1989, p. 5.

Charts

Chart 1 **The Big Picture: What Canadians Think About Almost Everything.** Allan Gregg and Michael Posner, Toronto, Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1990, p. 137. [Reproduced with express permission.]

Chart 2 Source: Based on data in **Women in Canada: A Statistical Report**, second edition, Statistics Canada, 1990, p. 18, (Tables 7 and 8).

Chart 3 Based on data in "Families: Diversity the New Norm", Mary Anne Burke, **Canadian Social Trends**, Summer 1986, p. 6 and "Women Parenting Alone", Maureen Moore, **Canadian Social Trends**, Winter 1987, p. 31.

Chart 4 Based on data in **Women in Canada: A Statistical Report**, second edition, Statistics Canada, 1990, p. 18, (Table 7).

Chart 5 Source: Based on data in **Women in Canada: A Statistical Report**, second edition, Statistics Canada, 1990, p. 23, (Table 13).

Chart 6 Based on data in **Current Demographic Analysis: New Trends in the Family: Demographic Facts and Figures**, Bali Ram, Statistics Canada, 1990, p. 26 (Figure 3.1).

Chart 7 From **Canada, a Source Book**, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990 based on data published in **Canada's Year Book 1990**, Statistics Canada, pp. 2-7, 2-8.

Chart 8 Based on data from **Census of Canada 1961**, Part 1, (Tables 73, 89); **Census of Canada, 1971**, Volume 2, Part 2 (Tables 78, 79); **Census of Canada, 1981**, (Tables 14, 18); **Census of Canada, 1986**, (Table 1).

Chart 9 Based on data in **Women in Canada: A Statistical Report**, second edition, Statistics Canada, 1990, p. 112, (Table 4).

Chart 10 Based on data published in **Fighting Child Poverty: A Brief by the National Council of Welfare presented to the Sub-Committee on Poverty of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Health and Welfare, Social Affairs, Seniors and the Status of Women**. National Council of Welfare, 1990, p. 47, (Table 6). [Based on 1988 data.]

Chart 11 Based on data in "Child Care" by Mary Anne Burke, **Canadian Social Trends**, Summer, 1986, p. 19.

Chart 12 Based on data in **Preliminary Data — Cycle 5: Family and Friends**, General Social Survey, Statistics Canada, 1991, (Table 4.1).